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APRIL 23, 1959

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FROM: LONDON

11 APR 24 1959

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 5589, APRIL 23, 11 P.M.

*# No reply required*  
*Vigderman / GER*

SENT DEPARTMENT 5589, REPEATED INFORMATION BONN 406, MOSCOW 261, PARIS 898, BERLIN 155.

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WITH EXCEPTION OF RESIDUAL EDITORIAL WORK TO BE DONE TOMORROW, WORKING GROUP THIS AFTERNOON COMPLETED DRAFTING OF REPORT. WILL HAND-CARRY MATS TO WASHINGTON TONIGHT AND ANY FINAL CHANGES MADE HERE FRIDAY WILL BE CABLED FOR INCORPORATION IN TEXT.

IN ORDER GIVE DEPARTMENT IMPRESSION OF REPORT AND RANGE OF OUTSTANDING ISSUES TO BE CONSIDERED BY MINISTERS, WE ARE REPEATING BELOW BRIEF COVER PAPER AGREED BY WORKING GROUP TODAY. IN ADDITION TO ISSUES LISTED, CERTAIN ARTICLES OF DRAFT PRINCIPLES OF GERMAN PEACE SETTLEMENT ARE STILL BRACKETED AND REQUIRE FURTHER DISCUSSION, POSSIBLY BY LEGAL OFFICERS FOUR GOVERNMENTS AT TIME PARIS MINISTERIAL MEETING.

BEGIN TEXT. IN FULFILLMENT OF THE DIRECTIONS GIVEN TO THEM BY THE FOUR MINISTERS IN WASHINGTON ON APRIL 1, THE WORKING GROUP HAS PREPARED:

1. A. A REVISION

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-2-, 5589, APRIL 23, 11 P.M., FROM LONDON

1. A. A REVISION OF THE "PHASED PLAN." FOR GERMAN REUNIFICATION AND EUROPEAN SECURITY AND A GERMAN PEACE SETTLEMENT,

B. PRELIMINARY DRAFT PRINCIPLES OF A GERMAN PEACE SETTLEMENT,

2. PROPOSALS ON BERLIN,

3. A PAPER ON TACTICS AT A FOREIGN MINISTERS' CONFERENCE,

4. A STATEMENT TO THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL.

WHILE THE WORKING GROUP HAS REACHED A LARGE IDENTITY OF VIEW, THERE ARE NEVERTHELESS CERTAIN QUESTIONS IN THE ATTACHED PAPERS ON WHICH AN AGREED DIRECTION MUST NOW BE SOUGHT FROM MINISTERS.

1. SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT

A) IN WHAT TERMS SHOULD THE CONNECTIONS BE EXPRESSED BETWEEN GENERAL DISARMAMENT ON THE ONE HAND AND EUROPEAN SECURITY AND GERMAN REUNIFICATION ON THE OTHER HAND? IN PARTICULAR, CAN A MEASURE OF GENERAL DISARMAMENT (OVER-ALL FORCE LEVELS AND ARMS REDUCTION FOR THE FOUR POWERS) BE INTRODUCED INTO THE PLAN? ALTERNATIVELY, SHOULD THE PLAN PROVIDE FOR A PARALLEL NEGOTIATION ABOUT GENERAL DISARMAMENT?

(B) SHOULD PROVISIONS WHICH ARE STATED IN GENERAL TERMS FOR MEASURES AGAINST SURPRISE ATTACK ALLOW FOR AN ALTERNATIVE PROPOSAL LIMITED TO EUROPE AND ALSO FOR A SPECIFIC PROPOSAL FOR GROUND INSPECTION LIMITED TO A SMALL AREA IN EUROPE?

(C) SHOULD A SPECIFIC FORMULA, FOR INSTANCE BY REFERENCE TO THE PARIS AGREEMENTS, OR GENERAL LANGUAGE BE USED FOR LIMITING THE STRENGTH OF INDIGENOUS MILITARY FORCES IN A DEFINED AREA IN EUROPE?

(D) SHOULD A PROHIBITION AGAINST THE STATIONING OF IRBMS IN A DEFINED AREA IN EUROPE BE INCLUDED?

(E) SHOU

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(E) SHOULD HUNGARY BE INCLUDED IN THE AREA IN EUROPE IN WHICH SPECIAL SECURITY MEASURES WOULD BE APPLIED?

(F) CAN AND SHOULD THE AREA IN EUROPE IN WHICH SPECIAL SECURITY MEASURES WOULD BE APPLIED BE IDENTIFIED IN OTHER THAN POLITICAL TERMS?

2. BERLIN

(A) WHAT BERLIN PROPOSALS SHOULD BE MADE WITHIN THE "PHASED PLAN"?

(B) IN CONSIDERING SECONDARY SOLUTIONS, I.E. SOLUTIONS APART FROM THE "PHASED PLAN", COULD THE WESTERN POWERS ACCEPT ANYTHING BEYOND THE "AGENCY THEORY"? SPECIFICALLY, COULD THEY PROCEED FROM SOLUTION B IN THE BERLIN PAPER TO SOLUTION C (SOVIET/G.D.R. DECLARATIONS)?

(C) CAN A GDR DECLARATION OF THE TYPE INCLUDED IN THE FINAL FALLBACK PROPOSAL ON BERLIN BE ENVISAGED WITHOUT MOVING TOO FAR IN THE DIRECTION OF THE RECOGNITION OF THE GDR? IF SO, CAN THE WESTERN POWERS TAKE THE INITIATIVE WITH THE SOVIETS IN OBTAINING THIS, OR SHOULD THIS INITIATIVE SUGGESTING SUCH A GDR DECLARATION BE LEFT TO THE SOVIET UNION?

(D) WHAT MEASURES OF UNITED NATIONS PARTICIPATION IF ANY, CAN THE WESTERN POWERS CONTEMPLATE? SHOULD THE UN ROLE INCLUDE UN PERSONNEL TO DETERMINE WHETHER THE DECLARATION CONCERNING FREE ACCESS AND NON-USE OF FORCE ARE BEING FULFILLED?

3. TACTICS

(A) SHOULD THE WESTERN POWERS GIVE ANY PUBLICITY TO THE "PHASED PLAN" PRIOR TO THE MAY 11 MEETING?

(B) SHOULD THE WESTERN

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(B) SHOULD THE WESTERN POWERS INTRODUCE THE "PHASED PLAN" (OR AN INDICATION OF IT) AT THE OUTSET OR SHOULD THEY HOLD IT IN RESERVE UNTIL THEY HAVE BEEN ABLE, TO SOME EXTENT, TO PROBE THE SOVIET POSITION?

(C) IF (A) HAS NOT BEEN DONE, SHOULD THE "PHASED PLAN" BE PUBLICIZED, EITHER TEXTUALLY OR IN SOMARQ,\* WHEN IT IS INTRODUCED?

(D) SHOULD THE WESTERN POWERS FULLY EXPLORE THE "PHASED PLAN" WITH THE SOVIETS AND DECIDE ON ITS FINAL DISPOSITION BEFORE ANY SEPARATE DISCUSSION OF BERLIN? OR SHOULD THEY SEEK TO HAVE THE BERLIN QUESTION DISCUSSED BEFORE ENTERING INTO A DISCUSSION OF THE "PHASED PLAN"?

(E) SHOULD THE WESTERN POWERS OPPOSE ANY DISCUSSION OF THE PEACE TREATY PRINCIPLES, PERMIT ONLY EXTREMELY LIMITED DISCUSSION OR BE PREPARED FOR A DETAILED DISCUSSION?  
END TEXT.

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\* AS RECEIVED, WILL SERVICE UPON REQUEST.

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